1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Other ceremonies celebrated with the co-operation of church authorities are St. John's Day, the Day of the Assumption, and All Souls' Day. The writer saw St. John's Day at Santa Rosa. The church was decorated with paper flowers, and on the evening of the day (arrangements could not be made for the evening before, which was the correct time) the women sang the Rosary. Then a hired orchestra of Papago, with violins and guitars, took their places outside the church. The boys and girls danced in couples, a Spanish form of fox trot, until well after sunrise the next morning. Then a "chicken pull" was held. This is the Spanish *corso de gallo,* in which a live cock is buried to its neck in the sand and horsemen, galloping past, lean over and try to pull it out.

The feast of the Assumption was very similar, but without the chicken pull. On that night women put up a canvas shelter outside the church and cooked a huge meal of beans, tortillas, and boiled meat. Inside the church the Rosary was sung and then the young people danced all night. There were some villages in which this dancing continued three days.

All Souls has versions varying from the completely Christian to those with decided Indian flavor. It should be mentioned that all Papago now have Christian burial. Perhaps because their own treatment of death was so unceremonious, they have found room for the funeral practices of the whites more easily than for other religious services. Whereas the corpse was once thrust into a crevice and sealed in with rocks or housed, seated, in a cabin of stone, it is now laid in a coffin and buried, facing the east. Whereas there was only a hasty farewell, with the adjuration not to return, there are now prayers by a clergyman or at least a layman.

But the custom of placing gifts with the dead persists, or did in 1932. Expensive clothes and saddles are often bought, and the grave may be lavishly stocked with goods and food. Some families keep dishes at a grave from year to year, and one dish, seen by the writer was in the ancient ceremonial duck form. On All Souls' night a feast for the dead is set out in many a house, but the family does not share it with the departed in Mexican style. Papago fear of the dead is too strong for that, so the living leave the house and spend the haunted hours in church.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

some said, look at them. Nevertheless, they brought blessing to the whole household since it was unthinkable that the owner's fate should be separated from that of his family group. 422

To some extent, this blessing was general good luck but the owner of a fetish also earned food by it. The owners of the purification and the curing fetishes were all empowered to cure certain ailments and, for this work, they received their meals. "Thus you will feed yourself" was the regular encouragement given them at the purification ceremony. But the shaman had the rank of a specialist with a highly paid craft. In fact, it was paid out of proportion to all other services so that he stood alone as the one person whose income was great enough to make him independent of the family. This independence, so contrary to the social scheme, must have contributed to the fear in which the shaman was held. 422 [277] 756 465

Songs and ritual were also individual property. The owner of a dreamed song could work magic with it and receive a meal just as he would if he helped harvest a field. But he could not sell it. Such a song, to have magic, must be dreamed by the singer and people resorted to many expedients to convince themselves that they had dreamed a song. But pay was not one of them. Ritual was not dreamed but was handed down in families, the current practitioner choosing his heir from among the eligible males. Reciters of this sort of ritual had the function of priests and were not renumerated. 424 424 426

Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. 768 764

Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now.

Cattle are considered family property and distributed to the children. They should, logically, be mens' goods, since their care belongs entirely to the men but modern life has brought no corresponding womens' goods and, in the instances known to the writer daughters have received cattle as well as sons. But customs, in this 768 428

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

821 Maiden at Puberty with Instructors: — a semi-circle of stars with one bright one in the middle; the Pestle: — two stars horizontal, two vertical; Flock of quail: — a cluster of small stars; the North Star, called the Unmoving Star: — it is the stopper for the hole in the sky through which Buzzard took refuge in the flood.

211 [868] 805 173 Papago youth were taught the tribal traditions by listening to the official narrators who told them as often as asked during the winter months, but always during the "four days" of the winter solstice. Beside this ancient history the record of recent events was kept on a calendar stick similar to that recorded for the Pima.[1]

The first entry is in "the year the world went wrong": 1839 while the facturis of Sonora were at war and the southern Papago settlements were broken up. The man who began it was a boy at the time and was "startled" by the catastrophe; so cut a notch in a stick to remember it. However, the earliest Pima stick known had been begun in 1833 so that he may have had model to suggest the idea. The Papago stick was kept first at Standing Rock, then at San Xavier, and there were, besides, one at Anegam and possibly others. Keeping a stick was entirely a personal venture, undertaken by anyone who had enterprise and memory for the task. The keeper stored it in his own house and passed it down to any male descendant capable of memorizing its record.

The San Xavier calendar stick is a length of cactus rib, six feet long and with notches cut on its flat side about an inch apart. Each notch represents a year and is cut after the liquor ceremony which inaugurates the rainy season and the Papago year. In the space between the notches, the keeper of the stick marks any crude device which occurs to him as a means of memorizing the year's events.

[386] The symbols are roughly incised and colored with red and blue, made from red clay and greasewood soot. A few simple signs have been worked out, such as a puncture in the middle of the space, representing the quadrennial harvest ceremony and a scratch at the side, meaning a death. Otherwise the symbols are the personal invention of the maker and his successor must learn them by heart.

The San Xavier stick was, until twenty years ago, at Standing Rock in the keeping of the man who began it. He frequently

• [764] recited its record and some of the older men learned it. At his death, his widow broke the stick and threw it away as a ceremonial act, but two San Xavier men rescued the pieces and copied them. The present custodian is the son-in-law of one of these two, the son having been unable to memorize the symbols. The custodian, in

[1] Russell, pp. 34—38.

DEATH

763 If it seemed certain that a person was going to die, he was removed from the house so it would not have to be destroyed. There was no avoidance of the dying: rather all the relatives, particularly women, gathered and might begin to wail even before death had occurred. Immediately after death, ritual wailing began and lasted until the body had been interred. Women wailed the most constantly, but men also joined them. The wail consisted in repeating the kinship term in regular rhythm and on a high note so "it sounded like singing" (32).

764 In deaths other than those from enemy wounds the corpse was interred. In the foothills, where digging was difficult, it was placed in a cave or a cleft in the rocks, any openings being filled up with stones. Where no cave was available, a rudimentary cliff dwelling was made, one side of the hill being used as a wall while a complementary wall was built up out of dry masonry, so that the whole formed a circle four feet or so in diameter. The corpse, with his effects was seated inside it and the whole roofed over with boughs and brush, weighted down with stones. The work was done by all the men of the geographic unit, the younger ones fetching poles for the roof, sometimes from a great distance, the older ones building up the stone work. This was the only stonework ever used by the Papago except in occasional mountain storehouses.

They made such a grave if it was at all possible, even carrying the corpse a long distance to rocky country, on a rough litter made of cactus ribs. But if rocky country was too far, they dug a pit, six or seven feet deep, with a niche at one side (1, 20). In this the corpse was seated but the grave was not filled with earth. Instead it was roofed over like the house or the rock grave.

The body was placed in the sitting position used in life: a man had his hands around his knees; a woman had her knees to the right. The dead wore his best regalia and paint. A warrior had his headdress and was painted for war; Enemy Slayers had the top part of the face black and the lower part white as they did during purification; ceremonial officiants wore the appropriate paint, but their costumes were generally hereditary and were not buried with them.

Property was laid in the grave, according to some; just outside it, according to others. A man had his weapons, a woman her pots

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

and baskets. In later days, a man's riding horse was killed by the grave. Food was placed outside, generally in miniature dishes[1] (29). There was no prescription as to the kind of food but pinole and, water, the standard diet, were always included. 764

Ceremonial property was inherited by a successor and not buried. It was in any case kept outside the house so that it had not been contaminated by the death and the deceased had generally appointed one of his descendants or relatives to be the future custodian. A shaman's rattle and plumes were not inherited, but it was thought that they should not be placed in the grave, because that would ruin their power. "The power should be left loose in the world for someone to find." 764 428

All the members of the geographic unit came to the grave, wailing. There was no time for others to be summoned and, in that hot country, corpses were disposed of immediately. After the corpse had been seated in place and the property placed around him, one of the oldest and nearest (a father, mother or spouse) spoke to him, im words which were impromptu, but always in the same general terms. He began, as on all ceremonial occasions, with the salute by the kin term. 764

> "My daughter's child! You were dear to me. Now you are gone. I shall not see you again. Go now, my daughter's child, I beg of you and do not come back to frighten your relatives." (33)
>
> "My father! We are giving you all your possessions. We give you your horse, so you can enjoy yourself with your kinsmen. Don't wish for us or wish to come back; you have left us. Neither will we wish for you back." (20)
>
> "My child! Go! Do not come back. Your place is not here any longer. Your place is with the dead. Do not trouble us." (9)

Each relative in turn then saluted the dead, using the kin term for the last time and adjuring him: "Go! Do not come back." Then one of the women, properly the oldest of the household, set food and water by the grave. For four days after the funeral, the relatives took food to the grave or, according to some, they took it on the fourth day (11). "But with children, we took it twice a day, because they need help" (11).

At the end of this time some older relative or friend advised the mourners: "Now it is finished. You know this comes to everyone, but now you must try to forget your sorrow, for if you think too much about it you might get sick. We are all sorry for the dead, but let it be. You know the penalty of thinking about death" (1).

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

159 I took my little girl with me when we went to dance and sing for the River People. Every year or two we went, we three or four villages that were relatives.

Once we went to The Spring, and Begging for Yucca Fruit made the songs. Then we went to Sacaton and my father made them. The River People came to us, too, and we all went and camped at the village where they were to sing. They sang at Mesquite Root, my father's village, and [201] he put into the singer's hands cow manure and horse manure. That meant he would give them a cow and a horse. Then we went to the Narrow Place and held a great harvest festival, and my husband was one of the singers. A good time we had, roaming over the land.

159 Once, when my husband and I were away working, word came that 763 my father was sick. All the family came back to Mesquite Root, but the medicine man could not help him. We all began to cry, right then: "Haya, my father!" "Haya, my elder brother!" "Haya, my husband!" It is a sort of tune. We cried all night, but he died.

159 We did not bury him in a cave in the rocks as our people used to do. 177 We had been up and down to Mexico, and had seen the priests and learned 764 many things. We laid him down and dug a grave. We dressed him in clothes, a good shirt and trousers and sandals and a red headband around his hair. We gave him a blanket and pillow, too, for the grave. Because he was an Enemy Slayer his face was painted, black to the nose and white below. His younger brother did that, for he was an Enemy Slayer, too, and had the right.

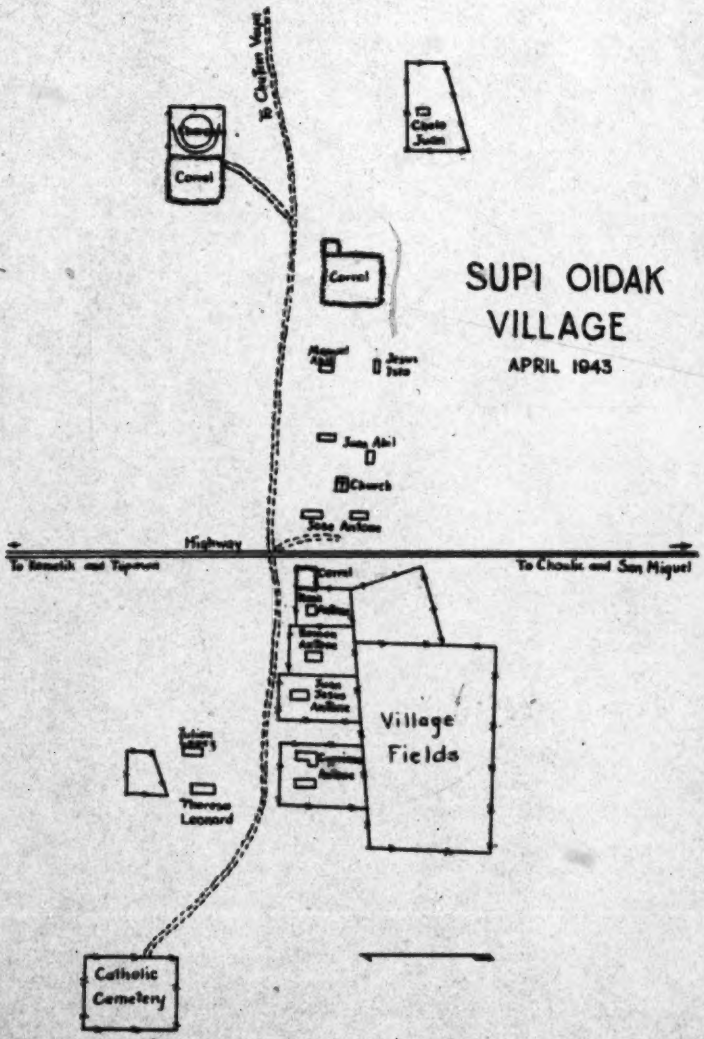
All the men of our family dug the grave, and then carried him out and put him there. They put in his blanket and pillow, because we did not sleep on mats any more. And his leather pouch, they put in, and the sticks he had for games and his bow and arrows and his good quiver of wild cat skin. Then his brother spoke: "We put you here. Stay and don't come back to frighten us." My mother said: "Make yourself at home. Be happy. Don't come back to break up my good dreams." She was crying. Then we called him again. "Haya, my father!" "Haya, my elder brother!" "Haya, my husband!"

159 All the relatives called him. After that, we never said his name, José 561 María. When we talked about him we said my father-gone, my elder brother-gone, my husband-gone. To hear the name would make us feel too bad. And nobody ever said that name to us because my brothers would get angry.

159 We divided his horses, and my sister and I each got two. My brothers 768 and my mother got more. My brothers took the house down and moved

361
491
312
764

MAP IV



SUPI OIDAK VILLAGE, APRIL, 1943

[p. 64]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

and singing, as it does in the wine ceremony, not cruelty and fighting. Women 733
say that they sometimes talk to their husbands but that "they don't pay any attention." Others simply leave home until their husbands sober up. Religious sanctions lessen drunkenness among the Presbyterians, but the group is small.

The Papago lay part of the blame on the federal law which forbids the sale 733
of liquor to Indians; they say that forbidding the possession of something is a 177
challenge. Whether or not this contention is justified, the real difficulty with drunkenness has coincided with the period of accelerated acculturation and particularly with the transfer from a barter to a cash economy. Illicit liquor is easily acquired when one has money, and with the prevalence of wage work almost every Papago man has cash. Possibly the speed of acculturation has brought with it conflicts and maladjustment for which compensation is sought in drinking. The disappearance of the old village games and races, which used up much surplus energy and sometimes required arduous training, may also have brought about recourse to other forms of stimulation and excitement. The problem remains difficult and pressing, for no adequate solution has been found.

CURING SICKNESS AND COUNTERACTING MISFORTUNE

In an environment which requires constant and hard labor, sickness might 753
well be one of the most dreaded misfortunes. This attitude has probably been reinforced by the grave health problems of the Papago (see chap. vii).

The Desert People believe that sickness and other misfortunes come from offending one of the many supernatural forces which menace humans. From early childhood they are taught what to-do and what not to do in order to maintain the right relationships with these forces.

Certain rites must be performed for every individual: if a baby is not taken to a medicine man a month or so after birth, he may fall sick or die. If he does undergo the proper rite (see chap. viii), he will be healthy, a good worker, and a swift runner. The girl who does not consult the medicine man at her first menstruation may be consumed by fire and may bring misfortune to all her relatives (see chap. x). Even some of the Presbyterian Papago feel uneasy unless this ceremony is performed.

Dead persons are potential threats to health and good fortune, and care is 753
taken to avoid offending them lest their ghosts return to bring sickness upon 761
their living relations. Until about thirty years ago, the Papago buried their dead in little stone replicas of houses on a hill near each village. Personal 764
property was buried with the corpse—a man's saddles and bridle, his tools and clothing, and any ceremonial paraphernalia he might have; the baskets a

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

764 woman had made and any favorite possession; the toys of a child. Food was often interred with the body. Then the house where the death had occurred was torn down, and the name of the dead person was mentioned no more.

Nowadays the dead are interred in cemeteries which are usually blessed by Christian clergy. The bodies are placed in coffins in white fashion, but sometimes extra clothing is buried with them. In some places Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Papago bury their dead in a miniature adobe house under the ground. The house of the dead person is usually not destroyed, particularly if it is a substantial one, and his name is more freely mentioned than in former times.

753 [821] But ghosts are still believed to bring sickness, returning as owls or other animals, usually at night. Most children are terrified of the dark, and many adults are distressed if at night they see an owl or coyote.

825 753 All animals are endowed with supernatural power, which they may use to help humans, but, if offended, to send sickness. This possibility, together with the fact that it may be a ghost, makes any animal a potential threat, hence the Papago fear animals and take great care not to offend them. If you imitate the bobwhite's whistle, the Desert People believe, your house will burn down. If rabbit blood touches your body or eyes, you will have sores or become blind. The breath of dogs will bring illness. Some animals are especially dangerous; the wild horse, for example, is associated with evil. Others are dangerous to children. These are only a few instances of widely prevalent animal superstitions.

Humans may escape the wrath of animals through avoidance. Children are taught not to play near gopher holes and to keep their distance from all other wild animals. Even those which are killed for food are handled as little as possible. But if one must be near animals, he may use magic to protect himself. For example, men who break wild horses take magical precautions against acquiring horse sickness.

753 181 Illness can also be brought on by thinking evil thoughts. The great emphasis placed by the Papago on peaceful living and their avoidance of quarreling has already been noted. A Papago is constantly adjured not only that quarreling is morally wrong but also that the kinds of thoughts that cause quarrels may bring illness.

753 831 According to Papago belief, a special sort of sickness may be caused by letting one's thoughts dwell too much on sexual matters, although the Desert People have a lively interest in sex, and many of their jokes and nicknames are based upon it.

000 If, despite all precautions, a Papago becomes sick, he goes to a medicine

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

tion and it was the opinion that there was no mixture with Mexican or Spanish. The Government maintained four day schools on the reservation.

The study of Papago music was begun at San Xavier, near Tucson, Ariz., in February, 1920. The Papago village is near San Xavier Mission, which was established in 1692. At this mission the Franciscan Fathers minister to the Indians, who number about 700 in this locality. The Government agency was located here in 1915, but was moved two years later to Indian Oasis, now known as Sells, Ariz. The Papago at San Xavier live in adobe houses and still grind their own corn, but are adopting a general use of food supplies purchased in Tucson. (Pl. 2.) The country around San Xavier is desert with mesquite and cactus. There are rugged hills and deep gorges cut by rivers that are raging floods at some seasons and "dry runs" at other seasons. The principal varieties of cactus are the saguaro or giant cactus, and the cholla. (Pl. 3.)

On a hillside near San Xavier is an old burial place. (Pl. 4, *a*.) The burial spaces are formed by building a low stone parapet on the side of the hill and roofing it with heavy timbers thrust into the hillside. The bodies were placed in these spaces, or shelters, and all openings were closed with stones. After a suitable time the bodies were taken out and others were placed in the inclosure. There were compartments in these burial chambers and several bodies were placed in each compartment. They have not been used in recent times and some remain tightly closed, while in others it is possible to see parts of skeletons and fragments of various sorts. Plate 4, *b*, *c*, shows the same opening, one being at a distance and the other showing the interior, where a skull can be seen. Near it was a bone that appeared to be part of a leg or arm. Scattered about were bits of leather resembling parts of a saddle. This place is particularly sightly. It faces the south, with a magnificent sweep of view. The mountains in Mexico can be seen at a distance of about 40 miles, while in the foreground is an expanse of desert. The old and new are strangely mingled here, as it is in this desert that the Government is establishing (1921) an irrigation system by means of which the Indians will be able to irrigate their land.

A further study of Papago music was made in November and December, 1920, at Sells, more than 60 miles west of Tucson. Songs were also recorded at Vomari village, and information was obtained at Santa Rosa, the former being in the extreme southern and the latter in the extreme northern part of the reservation. The customs and songs differ somewhat in different localities, and numerous photographs were taken showing the geography of the country. Between Sells and Vomari the country is more mountainous than in the vicinity of San Xavier, the most prominent mountain being Baboquivari

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

764

SITES OF HILLSIDE BURIALS AT SAN XAVIER

[p. 4-D]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

him then, but during the following three days he worked at the drawing from memory in his spare time, being mostly occupied in his field and with his cattle. After long deliberation, he finally consented to part with the picture which is shown on plate. The horse is painted with red ochre and the necktie is blue, the color having been bought in an American store. The artist was about fifty years old.

Following a fairly good wagon road eastward through the Comobabi Mountains, I first halted at a rancheria called "Badger's Well," where I found all the old people absent in the sahuaro fields. The younger generation, inclined toward the white man's ways, offered little of interest. They spent much of their time in laughter and animated talk at the well, where they watered their cattle and horses. I noticed a quail creeping stealthily to drink from the overflow of the water, a few yards from the well. Its thirst was quickly satisfied, when it retired to safety among the bushes.

A man sold me a spur made from the cleft of a mezquite bush. It has a very sharp point, which is most efficient, though cruel. Only one foot is thus provided. A negro came along, a rather strange appearance in this part of the country; he told of a silver mine four miles east of there that he and half a dozen of his race owned. It had been found by one of them who had been a prospector for eight years.

There were many ants in my camp, so I was glad to pack up in the morning. A visit was first made to the burial place, which was of the usual unattractive de-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

764 scription, in this case almost hidden under huge piles of palo verde branches. A tiny enclosure of upright ocotillo stems was pointed out to me as the modern cemetery, due to the teaching of the missionary. Bundles of clothing to be used by the deceased had been placed among the branches of trees near both cemeteries.

[797]

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

boy's parents until one or two children had been born, when they erected a hut nearby.

Death was little solemnized by the Papagos. Fearing that the spirit of the dead would drag with him his loved ones, they bestowed the corpse as quickly as possible in a crevice in the rocks leaving with it food, drink, and possessions, and adjuring it not to come back to frighten the living. Often they burned the house to discourage such visitations, and many of them, like the California Indians, never mentioned the name of the dead.

Papago life appears to be barren of material for ceremony but these wandering people, nevertheless, developed an elaborate system of observances. Their art impulse, deprived of opportunity for costumes and paraphernalia, expressed itself in song and poetry. Their ceremonies were based upon a long myth, describing the origin of all things. In this myth the People were brought up from underground by their leader, Elder Brother. They marched conquering through the country where Casa Grande now stands, driving out the old inhabitants, the Hohokam, or All-Gone-People. In the course of their adventures, there arose all the needs which later beset Papago life: the need for rain, for corn, for venison, for the taking of scalps, and the curing of disease. As each need arose, Elder Brother met it by leading the People in action and by singing a song. These songs, which punctuate the narrative at all its dramatic points, are often charmingly lyrical and descriptive. Moreover, they constituted Papago magic for all time to come. Ceremonies consisted in the singing of these songs, with appropriate dances and oratory. The mere singing was thought to produce the desired result, whatever it might be.

The Papago year was filled with such ceremonies.[2] In July, just before the rainy season, the fruit of the giant cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* was fermented and drunk, with singing, dancing, and oratory.

2. This section on songs and ceremonies has been abstracted from *Papago Songs and Ceremonies* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).